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BOOK REVIEWS

Caesar's Conquest of Gaul. By T. RICE HOLMES. 2d ed., revised throughout and largely rewritten. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. Pp. xl+872. 24s. net.

Cäsars Feldzüge in Gallien und Britannien. Von T. RICE HOLMES. Übersetzung und Bearbeitung der Werke "Caesar's Conquest of Gaul," 2d ed., Oxford, 1911, und "Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar," Oxford, 1907. Von WILHELM SCHOTT nach dessen Tode zu Ende geführt, durchgesehen und zum Druck befördert von FELIX ROSENBERG. Mit zwei Karten von Südbritannien und einer Karte von Gallien. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1913. Pp. xiv+299. M. 9.

The success which greeted the first edition of *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, both at home and abroad, extraordinary though it was, was deserved, for the book was an extraordinary one. The vigorous style, the sound judgment, the wide range of the author's investigation, and the thoroughness with which he treated the minutest details attracted the general reader, the student of history and politics, and the philologist, and soon made apparent the necessity of a second edition. The new edition—the result of two years' almost incessant labor, the author tells us—is a real revision, not, as in the case of so many English works, a mere reprint. Hardly a page has escaped the author's improving hand. Some of the changes are merely stylistic, many affect minor details, some articles have been omitted and new ones have been inserted. The new literature and some that had been overlooked in the first edition have been taken into consideration and it may safely be said that nothing important bearing on the subject has escaped notice.¹

If any criticism could be made against the first edition it was perhaps on the philological side. In the new edition we find that the author's own philological weapons are sharper and that his estimate of the philological investigations of others is sounder. His impatience with a certain type of German *Program* and dissertation² is still expressed with frankness and a

¹ The enormous amount of detailed investigation is shown by the fact that there are over 6,500 footnotes in the new edition.

² Of Rauchenstein he says (p. 231): "Here is a cobbler who flings his last out of window and must needs set up for a professor of the art of war"; again (p. 233) he inquires, "Has the worthy man no sense of humor?" P. 237: "Max Eichheim, who has achieved notoriety by the eccentricity of his invective, insists in a comparatively

contempt that approaches brutality, but his recognition of the best work of German philologists, of Meusel in particular, is generous throughout, though it is often marked by what may seem to many an excessive conservatism. Many of Meusel's bracketed passages he admits are suspicious, but not enough so to warrant rejecting them; he defends the authenticity of some with great skill; sometimes his arguments seem inadequate; e.g., the weighty arguments that Meusel and Klotz advance against Caesar's authorship of *B.G.* v. 12-14 can hardly be overthrown by the fact that numerous hoards of iron "currency bars" (*taleis ferreis*) have been found. These discoveries would merely point to an early date for the interpolated chapters or their source.

It is to be expected that Holmes will go into these matters more thoroughly in his edition of the *Gallic War*; and he is certain to illuminate any question he undertakes to discuss.

The omissions in the new edition are all by way of improvement. Stock's skepticism toward the work of the French excavators was never worth refuting, even for the benefit of the Oxford students; the same holds true for the note in Allen and Greenough's *Caesar* casting doubt on Caesar's fortifications on the Rhone. The bibliographical note on p. xxv, the table of cephalic indices (pp. 320-22), and the index of authors (pp. 844-46) have given way to more valuable matter. To discuss the ancient site of Bibracte is *rem agere actam* and this article of six pages, therefore, and a number of other articles have for the same reason been omitted. Some of the more absurd statements of Rauchenstein and Eichheim have been passed over but there are still absurdities enough to allow the author to make merry at their expense.

Perhaps the most important additions are to be found in the introductory chapter, which has grown from twenty-five to forty-five pages; the new topics are: "Prehistory of Gaul," "The Ligurians and Iberians," "The Celts," "Coins," "Bibracte and Its Bohemian Counterpart Stradonic," "Unifying Influences," "Religion." The corresponding topics in Part II are enlarged, e.g., the introduction and the part dealing with the prehistoric races and the Ligurians have grown from sixteen to thirty pages, and the other chapters contain much new matter; similarly the chapter on the Cimbri and Teutons (pp. 546-53).

In Part II the article dealing with the date of the composition of the *Commentaries* contains some new paragraphs; a note on the authorship of the *Commentaries* has been added; the chapter on the credibility of the narrative, which has been cut from seventy-two to forty-five pages, is a lucid interval," etc.; as a parting shot for both he says (p. 254): "To do this has been reserved for the Ihnes, the Eichheims, and the Rauchensteins: the Montaignes, the Mommsens, the Napoleons are satisfied of Caesar's veracity." P. 249: "In a long-winded and carping dissertation, the tediousness of which is only relieved by one passage in which, Phormio-like, he takes Caesar to task for bad generalship, Otto Sumpff," etc.

complete and convincing refutation of the attacks made on Caesar's trustworthiness. Here the author is at his best, especially in his discussion of the views of Ferrero, whom he dismisses with a triumphant "It is dangerous to mate skepticism with imagination; for the offspring thereof will be illegitimate fiction."

The articles in the geographical index have been subjected to a thorough revision, especial attention being given to the spelling of proper names.

In the part dealing with the narrative of Caesar's campaigns the following additions and changes may be noted: the campaign against Ariovistus has received fuller treatment; the author still inclines to favor Berry-au-Bac as the place where Caesar crossed the Aisne and Mauchamp as his camping-place, but he leaves the question open as to whether Pontavert and Chaudardes may not be the places of crossing and camping, respectively, and has inserted a plan showing these localities alongside the old plan (p. 71); a characteristic example of Holmes's open-mindedness and conscientiousness is furnished by his discussion of Portus Itius. In the first edition he had decided in favor of Wissant; in his *Ancient Britain*, after a new examination of evidence, he argued that Boulogne must have been Caesar's port of departure, and his arguments met with general acceptance; in the present work he still inclines to the latter view but shows that with our present knowledge we must be satisfied with a Scotch verdict. The location of the bridge over the Rhine is more fully discussed than in the old edition and the conclusion formerly reached is now stated as doubtful; the chapter on the bridge has been rewritten. A number of new articles have been inserted, e.g., "Was Commius King of the Atrebatas or of the Morini?" "The Chronology of B.G. vii. 1," "How Caesar Was Outwitted by Vercingetorix," "Who Wrote the Eighth Book of the *Commentaries*?" "The Date of the Annexation of Gaul," and the text of B.G. vii. 11. 4 and vii. 76. 2 is discussed.

The make-up of the volume is beyond praise. The new edition with its open page is much more attractive than the old.

The German book is intended especially for teachers of Caesar and seeks to give in a condensed form in a single volume the results of Holmes's studies of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul and Britain.

The narrative part of the *Conquest of Gaul*, i.e., Part I, and chaps. vi and vii of *Ancient Britain*, have been translated substantially without omission. The introductory chapter, it is true, has been cut to twenty-six pages, but practically all the excised portions are to be found among the "Exkurse": pp. 6-12 of the English edition=Exkurs II, "Gallien in vorhistorischer Zeit"; 17-19=III, "Gallische Münzen"; 26-36=IV, "Die Religion der Gallier und das Druidentum." Some passages have been transferred from the text to footnotes; the footnotes throughout contain material taken from Part II of the English works. Occasionally the translators have subjoined notes of their own, inclosed in square brackets.

The chapters dealing with the campaigns follow the text practically without change but the number of footnotes is greater.

The following topics, in addition to those mentioned above, are included among the "Exkurse": I, "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Cäsars *Bellum Gallicum*"; V, "Ergebnisse der Feldzüge in Britannien" (=chap. viii of *Ancient Britain*, with some omissions); VI, "Die Schlachtordnung Cäsars," greatly condensed.

The translators have been successful in reproducing the vigorous tone of the original and, as far as I have observed, have done their work correctly.

A map of Gaul, one of southeast England (reduced in size), and one of east Kent, all taken from the English works, accompany the volume.

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Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede. Von EDUARD NORDEN. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. M. 13.

In this book Eduard Norden has sketched as in a comprehensive map a great area of religious thinking and its forms of expression, in the heart of which lies the starting-point of that religious movement summed up in the name "Christian," which has dominated our own western world hitherto. Not far from this starting-point lies the phrase round which the book is woven, the cryptic *Agnostos Theos*, from which Norden draws the tantalizing veil of mystery, so that now it flares forth bright and clear as the point of fusion between the heart of oriental mysticism and the mind of Hellenic speculative thinking, the oriental element prevailing to conquer our Latino-Germanic "universe," as some centuries before the Greco-Roman spirit had permeated the system of the Cypriote Zeno, the son of Manasse, to dominate for its allotted time the Mediterranean *oikoumene*.

It would lead us too far afield to more than mention the channels felt or found by Norden's master mind to lead thither from the oracular bards of Egypt and Babylon, from the heroic strains of Hebrew prophets, from Heraclitus, Hesiod, and Homer, and from the domains of Mithra and Ahuramazda, or of the light-rays that fall thence upon the Greek Gregory of Nazianz and the Latins Augustine and Jerome, and down into our most modern hymnal and psalmody. This bare mention should suffice to indicate, if it does not make clear, the fact that Norden has invested his subject with human interest, that he has successfully linked it in the great nexus of human history at a vital point, from which potent influences carry down to our own thought and feeling. It is one of those books which everyone who lays claim to genuine humanistic culture and interests should read, and, if the reader bring with him a sufficient background of knowledge, it should not fall behind the best of novels in fascination and interest. And no